/140 cont./

567 those who took part in the war. If the head of the expedition is a maternal uncle of the offended man, his share is considered as already included in the portion which his small family receives. Also, when an expedition enslaves captives, its chief will usually later distribute /141/ among his close relatives part of the booty which has come to him: first to his mother, then to his sisters and his aunts, and then to the rest of his relatives, if there is a sufficient number /of slaves/; the same is done by the rest of the relatives /of the injured family/ when the booty has been considerable; booty includes slaves and their personal property, real property, and their livestock. As a general rule, slaves acquired by the defeat of a group become the property of the relatives of the injured man as a recompense for the wrong done.

Treatment of slaves. The slave is considered by his master as a thing, as any item of property; he can dispose of him freely, either selling him, giving him away, or making use of his labor; [8] he can take female slaves as his women and make use of the males in homosexual practices if he is deviant in this way. He may even kill them without it being considered a social offense /falta/, because of the fact that as the slave belongs to a consanguineous group which has been annihilated or at least conquered, no one can make a claim for his death. Women slaves may be used as objects of pleasure by the sons or the maternal nephews /sic/ of the master as soon as they reach the age of puberty, the age at which boys begin to seek them out to require love making without their parents being aware of the fact, obliging them to have sexual relations about which they are unable to protest, as the boy is, in a way, also their master; it appears /moreover/ that female slaves customarily are willing to accede to the wishes of the boy.

Rights and privileges of slaves. The slave has to be fed by the master, who generally gives him the remains from his meals, although he may at times give him corn to make mazamorra; clothing also must be supplied by the owner, and it is considered an obligation of the master to supply wives for male slaves, for

/141 cont./

567 which purpose he gives them women slaves he owns, or buys for them women of a poor clan for whom he will pay an insignificant price, ten male goats, for example. When a slave becomes pregnant by one of the master's sons, the mother must allow the slave's pregnancy to proceed normally and limit herself to reproaching the boy.

Rights, privileges, and powers of the master. Masters are absolute owners of the goods of their slaves. As slavery is always the consequence of war between two clan groups /caused/ by an offence by one against the other, /142/ the property of all the members of the conquered group passes under the control of the victors according to the system of distribution explained above. That is, the fields, pastures, woods, water, wells, domestic utensils, clothes, livestock, jewelry, etc., of the conquered group become the property of the conquerors. As regards the slaves themselves, we have the following facts: Males are put to work by the master in all activities, especially in agriculture and pasturing, and are made use of as objects of homosexual pleasure if the master is a /sexual/ deviant. (We have no data on homosexuality as social etiquette, that is, lending a slave for homosexual practices to sodomitical guests). The owner may punish his slaves freely even to killing them.

Women /slaves/ are used, as we saw previously, in domestic labor, weaving, etc; they are obliged to act as wet nurses of the children of the master at his wife's request. In this case, the slave's child has to be weaned and brought up on corn mazamorra; the slaves also carry out the role of nursemaids to the children, and are used as objects of sexual pleasures by the master, the master's sons, and his guests, following a formula of social etiquette in La Guajira. We do not know of any datum which can confirm homosexuality practiced with female slaves by their mistresses, nor of the corresponding aspect of hospitality.

In remote times, old women, young women, girls, and youths, boys, and adult males were enslaved, but at the present time it is almost a norm to keep only women as slaves of war.

/190 cont./

When the abortion is provoked by the woman when she is in an advanced stage of pregnancy, the husband demands compensation payment, and the act is considered a homicide.

An offense of a very grave character for an individual and his relatives is the attempt made by a homosexual to abuse him. Generally, this aggressive act is directed against defenseless young boys, who can be physically forced to submit. Their relatives demand compensation payment, not only for the physical molestation suffered by their relative but for the psychological and social significance of the offense, which completely devolves on them.

Exhibitionism of a sexual type is considered a punishable act because it entails an offense against the modesty of those present, and if /191/ the spectator is a person of high standing, it implies moreover a grave offense to his high status which demands respect from others; in this case the payment is greater and may cause strong reprisals to be taken against the offender's relatives. These offenses may refer to homosexual practices, suggestions or representations real or imaginary of copulation, or exhibition of the genital organs. Both sexes may undress in public without the spectators feeling offended, as happens at the public baths, where the women bathe without concern, taking care to cross their legs. The man holds the penis to his waist in a way that his hairiness covers him and so does not offend the modesty of the bystanders.

Other aspects which have to be taken into consideration are the offenses that the woman can inflict on the man during married life. Let us remember that Guajiro women, even to this day, are bought without their wishes being taken into account, and that those who cannot avoid this marriage -- by means of suicide, flight, or breaking with the community -- may refuse to cohabit with the husband imposed on them or to satisfy his sexual desires. The man then abandons such a woman or demands compensation payment for the pain her attitude has caused him and refuses to resume his position as

/191 cont./

684 husband until this payment has been made. It is very common for the man not to make any demand for money for the hurt inflicted but to try to revenge himself by his future attitude. The Guajiro women say that a woman once initiated into sexual life acquires the need for repetition of the act. Then the man refuses to satisfy her, does not frequent the home, and does not give the slightest sign of his affection. The woman is in fact abandoned and yet in the situation of a married woman without a husband, with the obligations inherent in marriage and none of its rights.

Another aspect considered as an aggressive act is the fraud entailed when a man discovers that the woman he has married is not a virgin (See Valuation of virginity in the chapter, Premarital Considerations).

684 As homosexuality is very much disapproved of in the culture and regarded as almost an enforced degeneration of
● 838 the young slaves, whoever practices it draws on himself the
628 contempt and scorn of society, and his status is compared to that of those outside society. It is the custom, when two groups are at enmity, to hurl an insult which must result in a decision by arms. This insult consists in telling the enemy that their men would not even serve as women for their opponents. The hidden aim is to avoid legal proceedings and to start a war without quarter, in which they hope to obtain more advantages than by peaceful and orderly negotiation. /192/

682 The most serious aggressive act is homicide. No attenuating circumstances are taken into account, not even that the killing was involuntary or done in self-defense, since the Guajiro solely considers the act itself: An individual took the life of another and serves punishment.

Let us consider some aspects of this type of aggression.

1. Voluntary homicide, that is, one person killing another consciously and deliberately.

2. Involuntary homicide, that is, one person killing another without intending to execute an aggressive act, such as

7:Bollinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

One day we met three slave-workers. They were sitting on a hillside gnawing at roast goat's feet. Talking with them we discovered that they had to serve their master without wages. Must they do so all their lives? we asked. Perhaps not, but they were bound to work for him till certain debts and obligations had been paid off, and these seemed very complicated and vague.

The real slaves for life are the prisoners taken in war. Thus there are various forms of slavery in Guajira. It is, of course, an ancient phenomenon, of which the whites would seem to have taken advantage rather than to have combatted.

Slavery is a form of punishment. Formerly it was only conquered people and prisoners of war who were kept as slaves. This was usual among several Indian peoples, especially the Aruaks, to which group the Guajiro belong. With them slavery has been systematized.

Let us see how it is that someone becomes a slave. If an Indian has been insulted or killed, his clan demands compensation. If this is not paid, war breaks out between the two clans and those taken prisoner are treated as slaves without further ado. The Indians, however, never begin a war for the purpose of obtaining slaves. The slaves are reckoned as part of the damages, and they and the possessions of the conquered are divided among the victors according to certain principles. The eldest maternal uncle, mother, nephew, brothers and the leader of the fighting are entitled to damages; and if there is enough, the leader of the warriors will usually distribute some of the booty to his nearest relatives, mother, sisters, and maternal aunts. All the property of the enslaved prisoners-of-war passes into the hands of the victors: their pastures, water-holes, cattle, utensils, clothing, ornaments.

Slaves are the property of their masters, who can do with them as they see fit; sell them, give them away, kill them or use their labour and, if they are women, have intercourse with them as they may desire. The same goes for the men, if their master is a homosexual, as is not unusual in Guajira. The owner's unmarried sons or nephews also con-

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the first wife retains a privileged position. She will be of the best family and the highest in rank. She is the hostess.

One day, when I was standing talking with Mauana, he pointed to a couple walking past and said eagerly:

'You should picture those with your apparatus.'

I photographed the two, who to me appeared very ordinary. The woman had her cheeks and nose painted red. Mauana whispered to me that the woman was not a woman, but that they were two men living together. Later we came across several Indian men who did women's work and wore women's dress. This was not considered really right, but it was looked upon with indulgence. In the early days of discovery gold coins were found on the coast by Santa Marta which depicted 'shameful acts contrary to Nature'. Among the Guajiros' relatives in the West Indies there were chiefs who had whole harems of boys.

'We were talking of bride-price and buying women slaves,' said I, to revert to more normal things. 'What does a poor youth do, who possesses nothing?'

Everyone agreed that it was a pity about any such. The law had definite regulations for intercourse between man and woman, and any infringement involved a claim for damages. If anyone seduced a woman, he must pay considerable compensation to her relatives, however willing she may have been; but if he took her against her will, it costs him considerably more. A poor man cannot pay and therefore risks losing his life as a punishment. The Indians admitted that here and there on the border there was prostitution, but it was mostly mestizo women who lent themselves to that. In Guajira proper, there were no prostitutes. Both the chiefs and the monks told us that. Thus in the interior, a young man without means must live a life of abstinence. The time when the dances of the kid were performed would be his only opportunity of enjoying a woman's favours, provided he could find a willing partner. At this time the otherwise strict code is suspended and free love permitted.

Mauana had promised to arrange a dance, but of another kind. The dances of the kid are performed during the rainy

T:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Genjiro SC13

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A Caspian man, dressed and painted as a woman. He lived with another man and performed all the tasks of the housewife

Little girl with gold beads round her neck and ankles

After burial: woman weeping by the urn containing the dead man's bones

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[Facing p. 112]

8:Armstrong & Metraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

water but is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 681
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers
and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the
girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving,
sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached,
a special festival is held, when she removes her ornaments and puts on
the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now
considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on
her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [554
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 836
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among
the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an op-
portunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 838
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 584
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price
only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages
goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part
of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from
the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Rio Hacha,
who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their
trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [431]
ranchería of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially
woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some dis-
tance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the
bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [606]
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives
in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man,
as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [592]
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household accord-
ing to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 586
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and